# **ICAS 2022 Annual Conference**

# After the U.S. Midterms and the 20th Party Congress: What Will 2023 Hold for U.S.-China Relations?

- Agenda & Speaker Biographies -

Wednesday, November 2, 2022

9:00am - 1:00pm EDT

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# 2022 Annual Conference

After the U.S. Midterms and the 20th Party Congress: What Will 2023 Hold for U.S.-China Relations?

| 9:00 am  | Introduction   |
|----------|--|
|          | HONG Nong, Executive Director, Institute for China-America Studies   |
| 9:05 am  |  |
| 9.05 am  | Opening Remarks  |
|          | <b>WU Shicun,</b> Chairman of the Advisory Board, Institute for China-America Studies  |
| 9:10 am  | Keynote Dialogue   |
|          | JING Quan, Minister, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States  |
|          | Susan THORNTON, Senior Fellow, Paul Tsai China Center, Yale Law School   |
|          | Moderator: Gordon HOULDEN, Director Emeritus, China Institute, University of Alberta   |
| 9:55 am  | <u>- Coffee Break -</u>  |
|          |  |
| 10:00 am | Panel I: U.SChina Strategic Rivalry in the Biden Era   |
|          | Michael SWAINE, Director, East Asia Program, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft   |
|          | DA Wei, Director, Center for International Security and Strategy, Tsinghua University  |
|          | <b>Dennis WILDER,</b> Senior Fellow, Initiative for U.SChina Dialogue on Global Issues, Georgetown University                                |
|          | <b>HUANG Jing</b> , University Professor and Director, Institute of the US and Pacific Studies,<br>Shanghai International Studies University |
|          | Moderator: Gordon HOULDEN, Director Emeritus, China Institute, University of Alberta   |
| 11:30 am | <u>- Coffee Break -</u>  |
| 11:35 am | Panel II: U.SChina Trade and Technology Decoupling   |
|          | <b>Paul TRIOLO,</b> Senior Vice President for China and Technology Policy Lead,<br>Albright Stonebridge Group                                |
|          | HUANG Yukon, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace   |
|          | William REINSCH, Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic & International Studies  |
|          | Denis SIMON, Professor, Fuqua School of Business, Duke University  |
|          | Moderator: LIU Yawei, Senior Advisor on China, The Carter Center   |
| 12:55 pm | Closing Pomarks  |
| 12.55 pm | Closing Remarks  |
|          | HONG Nong, Executive Director, Institute for China-America Studies   |

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For media and other inquiries, email Jessica Martin at jessicamartin@chinaus-icas.org



# 2022 Annual Conference

After the U.S. Midterms and the 20th Party Congress: What Will 2023 Hold for U.S.-China Relations?

The U.S.-China relationship continues to limp from pillar to post, even as the midpoint of the Biden administration's term in office is fast approaching. The hoped-for détente between the two sides has been slow to arrive. President Biden has spent the better part of the past two years 'investing, aligning and competing' at home and abroad, attempting to shape the strategic environment around China. Pursuing avenues of cooperation with Beijing has been an afterthought, at best. For President Xi Jinping, his second term in office has encountered controversy from a foreign relations standpoint. The U.S.-China trade war kicked into full gear a few months after his 19th Party Congress investiture. Coping with the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic and the effects of Washington's technology embargoes, rather than a second round of win-win 'reform and opening up' exchanges with the United States, have been the defining features of his second term. Russia's attack on Ukraine, furthermore, has added grist to the democracies v. autocracies framing of great power relations by the Biden administration.

### Panel I: U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry in the Biden Era (10:00am)

As President Xi begins his third term in office, what are the Chinese leadership's priorities vis-à-vis the United States and the Biden administration likely to be? Is there any merit to the claim that there is an implicit 2027 timeline to bring Taiwan to heel? Will the two sides restore high-level mil-mil communications and maritime CBMs that have been suspended by Speaker Pelosi's visit? What does the composition of the new Politburo and Politburo Standing Committee signify to overseas observers from a political and policy standpoint? What is President Biden and President Xi expected to discuss when they (likely) gather for their first in-person meeting on the sidelines of the G20 Leaders Summit in Bali later this November.

### Panel II: U.S.-China Trade and Technology Decoupling (11:35am)

In its first 20 months in office, the Biden administration has barely been interested in breaking bread with China on trade and economic matters. Will this pattern change following the midterm elections, given that China was not among the top 5 political topics leading into the midterms? Can a Phase Two trade and investment deal be consummated by the two sides that could place a floor under the rash of technology embargoes and supply chain decoupling initiatives introduced by Washington? How will the supply chain resilience-related initiatives alter the future structure of advanced manufacturing industries in the U.S. and the Asia-Pacific region? Will 2023 throw up fresh perspectives in this regard?

To listen to these and other answers to pressing U.S.-China questions, tune in to the ICAS Annual Conference on November 2, 2022.

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# 2022 Annual Conference

After the U.S. Midterms and the 20th Party Congress: What Will 2023 Hold for U.S.-China Relations?

Keynote Dialogue

JING Quan Minister Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States



Susan THORNTON Senior Fellow, Paul Tsai China Center Yale Law School

Panel I: U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry in the Biden Era Michael SWAINE DA Wei Dennis WILDER HUANG Jing

Panel II: U.S.-China Trade and Technology Decoupling Paul TRIOLO HUANG Yukon William REINSCH Denis SIMON

> *Moderators* Gordon HOULDEN LIU Yawei

Moderated by



Gordon HOULDEN Director Emeritus, China Institute University of Alberta

#### **Opening Remarks**



WU Shicun Chairman of the Advisory Board Institute for China-America Studies

#### Introduction



HONG Nong Executive Director Institute for China-America Studies

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# 2022 Annual Conference

After the U.S. Midterms and the 20th Party Congress: What Will 2023 Hold for U.S.-China Relations?

Panel I: U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry in the Biden Era 10:00am - 11:30am



Michael SWAINE Director, East Asia Program Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft



HUANG Jing University Professor and Director, Institute of the US and Pacific Studies, Shanghai International Studies University



Dennis WILDER Senior Fellow, Initiative for U.S.-China Dialogue on Global Issues Georgetown University



DA Wei Director, Center for International Security and Strategy Tsinghua University



Gordon HOULDEN Director Emeritus, China Institute Universty of Alberta





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# 2022 Annual Conference

After the U.S. Midterms and the 20th Party Congress: What Will 2023 Hold for U.S.-China Relations?

Panel II: U.S.-China Trade and Technology Decoupling 11:35am - 12:55pm



Paul TRIOLO Senior Vice President for China and Technology Policy Lead Albright Stonebridge Group



HUANG Yukon Senior Fellow Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



William REINSCH Senior Advisor Center for Strategic & International Studies



Denis SIMON Professor Fuqua School of Business, Duke University



LIU Yawei Senior Advisor on China The Carter Center









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### **Introduction & Concluding Remarks**



#### **HONG Nong**

Executive Director & Senior Fellow, Institute for China-America Studies

Dr. HONG Nong holds a PhD of interdisciplinary study of international law and international relations from the University of Alberta, Canada and held a Postdoctoral Fellowship in the University's China Institute. She was ITLOS-Nippon Fellow for International Dispute Settlement and Visiting Fellow at Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security, the Center of Oceans Law and Policy, University of Virginia, and at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law. She is concurrently a research fellow with China Institute, University of Alberta, Canada, and the National Institute for South China Sea Studies. She is also a China Forum expert.

Her research takes an interdisciplinary approach to examining international relations and international law, with focus on International Relations and Comparative Politics in general; ocean governance in East Asia and the Arctic; law of the sea; international security, particularly non-traditional security; and international dispute settlement and conflict resolution. Her selected publications include *China's Role in the Arctic: Observing and Being Observed* (London and New York: Routeldge, 2020), *UNCLOS and Ocean Dispute Settlement: Law and Politics in the South China Sea* (Routledge, 2012). Her full CV is available at <a href="https://chinaus-icas.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/20210301-Nong-HONG-CV.pdf">https://chinaus-icas.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/20210301-Nong-HONG-CV.pdf</a>

# **Opening Remarks**



#### **WU Shicun**

*Chair of Advisory Board,* Institute for China-America Studies *Founding President,* National Institute for South China Sea Studies

Dr. Wu Shicun serves as Chair of the Advisory Board at the Institute for China-America Studies. He is also founding president, director of academic committee and senior research fellow at China's National Institute for South China Sea Studies, chairman of board of directors of the China-Southeast Asia Research Center on the South China Sea, vice president of the China Institute for Free Trade Ports Studies, and adjunct professor of Nanjing University and Shanghai Jiao Tong University.

Dr. Wu has a PhD in history. His research interests cover the history and geography of the South China Sea, maritime delimitation, maritime economy, international relations and regional security strategy. His recent books include: *Hainan Free Trade* 

Port: A Global Perspective (Guangdong People's Publishing House, 2021), The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Challenges and Opportunities for Asia and Europe (Routledge, 2019), South China Sea Lawfare: Post-Arbitration Policy Options and Future Prospects (South China Sea Think Tank / Taiwan Center for Security Studies, 2017), Arbitration Concerning the South China Sea: Philippines versus China (Ashgate, 2016), UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the South China Sea (Ashgate, 2015), Non-Traditional Security Issues and the South China Sea-Shaping a New Framework for Cooperation (Ashgate, 2014), Recent Developments in the South China Sea Dispute: The Prospect of a Joint Development Regime (Routledge, 2014), and Solving Disputes for Regional Cooperation and Development in the South China Sea: A Chinese Perspective (Chandos Publishing, 2013). Dr Wu has also published widely in academic journals and been the subject of frequent media interviews as a senior commentator on South China Sea, regional security issues, the Belt & Road Initiative and the development of Hainan Free Trade Port.

### **Keynote Dialogue**



#### **JING Quan**

Minister, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States

Jing Quan is the third ranking diplomat at the Chinese Embassy to the United States. From 1998 to 2002, he was the Attaché and Third Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in Thailand. From 2002 to 2009, he served as the Third Secretary and Deputy Division Director at the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During this period, he was a visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution in the United States from 2004 to 2005. From 2009 to 2011, he served as the Deputy Director of the Political Section at the Chinese Embassy in the United States. From 2011 to 2016, he was the Division Director and Counselor at the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 2016 to 2017, he was the Counselor at the General Office of the State

Council. He served as the Deputy Director-General at the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



#### **Susan THORNTON**

Senior Fellow, Paul Tsai China Center, Yale Law School Non-resident Senior Fellow, John L. Thornton China Center, Brookings Institution

Susan A. Thornton is a retired senior U.S. diplomat with almost three decades of experience with the U.S. State Department in Eurasia and East Asia. She is currently a Senior Fellow and Visiting Lecturer in Law at the Yale Law School Paul Tsai China Center. She is also the director of the Forum on Asia-Pacific Security at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Until July 2018, Thornton was Acting Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State and led East Asia policymaking amid crises with North Korea, escalating trade tensions with China, and a fast-changing international environment. In previous State Department roles, she

worked on U.S. policy toward China, Korea and the former Soviet Union and served in leadership positions at U.S. embassies in Central Asia, Russia, the Caucasus and China.

#### **Moderated By**



#### **Gordon HOULDEN**

Director Emeritus, China Institute, University of Alberta

Professor Gordon Houlden is Director Emeritus of the China Institute, Professor of Political Science and Adjunct Professor of the Alberta School of Business at the University of Alberta. Professor Gordon Houlden joined the Canadian Foreign Service in 1976, serving in Ottawa and abroad. Twenty-two of his thirty-two years in the Canadian Foreign Service were spent working on Chinese economic, trade and political affairs for the Government of Canada including five postings in China. He also served at the Canadian Embassy in Havana and Warsaw, and at Canada National Defence College. His last assignment before joining the University of Alberta in 2008 was as Director General of the East Asian Bureau of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, responsible for Greater China, Japan, the Koreas and

Mongolia. Under Professor Houlden's leadership, the China Institute focused on contemporary China studies, with an emphasis on Canada's trade, investment and bilateral relations with the PRC, and Asian security issues. His third coedited book on the South China Sea was published in the summer of 2021 by Bristol University Press.

# Panel I: U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry in the Biden Era



#### **Michael SWAINE**

*Director*, East Asia Program, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft

Michael D. Swaine, director of QI's East Asia program, is one of the most prominent American scholars of Chinese security studies. He comes to Quincy Institute from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where he worked for nearly twenty years as a senior fellow specializing in Chinese defense and foreign policy, U.S.-China relations, and East Asian international relations. Swaine served as a senior policy analyst at the RAND Corporation. Swaine has authored and edited more than a dozen books and monographs, including *Remaining Aligned on the Challenges Facing Taiwan* (with Ryo Sahashi; 2019), *Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Strategic Net Assessment* (with Nicholas Eberstadt et al; 2015) and many journal articles and book chapters. Swaine is currently directing, along with Iain Johnston of

Harvard University, a multi-year crisis prevention project with Chinese partners. He also advises the U.S. government on Asian security issues. Swaine received his doctorate in government from Harvard University and his bachelor's degree from George Washington University.



### DA Wei

*Director,* Center for International Security and Strategy, Tsinghua University

Da Wei is the director of the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) and professor of the Department of International Relations, School of Social Science, Tsinghua University. His research expertise covers China-U.S. relations and U.S. security & foreign policy. Da Wei has worked in China's academic and policy community for more than two decades. Prior to current positions, he was the assistant president of University of International Relations (2017-2020), director of the Institute of American Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (2013-2017). He has written hundreds of policy papers for the Chinese government and published dozens of academic papers in journals in China, the U.S.

and other countries. Da Wei earned his B.A. and M.A. from UIR, and his Ph.D. from CICIR. He was a visiting senior fellow at the Atlantic Council of the United States from 2006 to 2007, and a visiting senior associate at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University from 2008 to 2009. He is also a China Forum Expert.



#### **Dennis WILDER**

# *Senior Fellow and Assistant Professor,* Initiative for U.S.-China Dialogue on Global Issues, Georgetown University

Dennis Wilder is the managing director for the Initiative for U.S.-China Dialogue on Global Issues at Georgetown University, where he also serves as an assistant professor of practice in Asian studies in the School of Foreign Service. Wilder joined the Initiative in April 2016 after three decades as a leading China expert within the US intelligence and diplomatic communities. He served as the National Security Council's director for China from 2004-2005, then as NSC special assistant to the president and director for East Asian affairs from 2005-2009. In these roles, he organized a series of presidential trips to Asia, including to the 2008 Beijing Olympics. From 2009 to 2015, Wilder was senior editor of the President's Daily Brief, the

worldwide intelligence update produced under auspices of the director of national intelligence. Before joining the Initiative he served in 2015-2016 as the CIA's deputy assistant director for East Asia and the Pacific. Wilder holds a B.A. from Kalamazoo College and an M.S. in foreign service from Georgetown University.



#### **HUANG Jing**

*University Professor and Director*, Institute of the US and Pacific Studies, Shanghai International Studies University

Prof. Dr. HUANG Jing is University Professor and Director of Institute of the US and Pacific Studies at Shanghai International Studies University (SISU). Before joining SISU, Prof. Huang was University Professor and Dean (Academic Affairs) of the Institute of International and Regional Studies at Beijing Language and Culture University (BLCU). Prof. Huang was the Lee Foundation Professor on US-China Relations and Director of Centre on Asia and Globalization of the LKY School of Public Policy at National University of Singapore (2008-2018), Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution (2004-2008), Shorenstein Fellow at Stanford University (2002-2003), and Associate Professor (tenured) of Political Science and Director of the Asian Studies Program at Utah State University (1994-2004). Prof. Huang also taught at

Harvard University as an instructor in 1993-94. Prof Huang is a Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow at Bosch Academy in Germany since 2013.

Prof. Huang's main research and teaching interests include security in Asia-Pacific, US-China relations, major power relations, Chinese elite politics, China's foreign policy and its development strategy. He is the author of numerous papers and journal articles, and has published hundreds of columns and op-eds in major newspapers and magazines. Prof. Huang has authored two books: *Factionalism in Chinese Communist Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), which won the prestigious Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize, and *Inseparable Separation: the Making of China's Taiwan Policy* (World Scientific Press, 2010). He has also edited or co-edited seven volumes on South China Sea, the environment policies of Asian countries, and the development of Russia's Far East and Siberia and has provided policy advices for governments, NGOs, educational institutions, think tanks, and businesses for countries around the world. Prof. Huang earned a bachelor degree in English literature from Sichuan University, a master degree in history from Fudan University, and a PhD in Political Science from Harvard University.

# Panel II: U.S.-China Trade and Technology Decoupling



#### **Paul TRIOLO**

Senior Vice President for China and Technology Policy Lead, Albright Stonebridge Group

Paul Triolo is Senior Vice President for China and Technology Policy Lead at ASG. He advises clients in technology, financial services, and other sectors as they navigate complex political and regulatory matters in China and around the world. A recognized expert in global technology policy, Mr. Triolo was most recently founder, Practice Head, and Managing Director of the Geo-Technology practice at Eurasia Group. Previously, Mr. Triolo spent more than 25 years in senior positions in the U.S. government, analyzing China's rise as a technology power and advising senior policymakers on a broad set of technology-related issues. At the beginning of his career, he worked as an engineer for a semiconductor testing firm in Silicon Valley.

Mr. Triolo is frequently quoted on technology policy issues in media outlets including *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Economist, the South China Morning Post,* and others. He speaks regularly at conferences and has authored many journal articles and book chapters on global technology policy and China-related issues. He also serves as a Senior Advisor at the Paulson Institute and is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



#### **HUANG Yukon**

#### Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Yukon Huang is a senior fellow with the Asia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was formerly the World Bank's country director for China and earlier director for Russia and the Former Soviet Union Republics. He is an adviser to the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and various governments and corporations. His research focuses on China's economy and its regional and global impact.

Huang has published widely on development issues in both professional journals and the public media. He is a featured commentator for the *Financial Times* on China, and his articles are seen frequently in the *Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg, Foreign Affairs,* 

the *National Interest,* and *Caixin*. His books include *East Asia Visions, Reshaping Economic Geography in East Asia,* and *International Migration and Development in East Asia and the Pacific.* His latest book, *Cracking the China Conundrum: Why Conventional Economic Wisdom Is Wrong,* was published by Oxford University Press (2017). He has a PhD in economics from Princeton University and a BA from Yale University.



#### William REINSCH

Senior Advisor and Scholl Chair in International Business, Center for Strategic & International Studies

William Alan Reinsch holds the Scholl Chair in International Business at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and is a senior adviser at Kelley, Drye & Warren LLP. Previously, he served for 15 years as president of the National Foreign Trade Council, where he led efforts in favor of open markets, in support of the Export-Import Bank and Overseas Private Investment Corporation, against unilateral sanctions, and in support of sound international tax policy, among many issues. From 2001 to 2016, he concurrently served as a member of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. He is also an adjunct assistant professor at the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, teaching courses in

globalization, trade policy, and politics.

Reinsch also served as the under-secretary of commerce for export administration during the Clinton administration. Prior to that, he spent 20 years on Capitol Hill, most of them as senior legislative assistant to the late Senator John Heinz (R-PA) and subsequently to Senator John D. Rockefeller IV (D-WV). He holds a B.A. and an M.A. in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies respectively.



#### **Denis SIMON**

Professor of China Business and Technology & Senior Advisor to the President for China Affairs, Fuqua School of Business, Duke University

Dr. Denis Fred Simon is Senior Adviser to the President for China Affairs at Duke and Professor of China Business and Technology at Duke's Fuqua School of Business. Fluent in Mandarin Chinese, Simon has more than four decades of experience studying business, competition, innovation and technology strategy in China. In 2006, he was awarded the China National Friendship Award by Premier Wen Jiabao in Beijing.

Prior to returning to Duke, Dr. Simon served as Executive Vice Chancellor at Duke Kunshan University in China (2015-2020). Simon's career included spells as senior adviser on China and global affairs in the Office of the President at Arizona State

University; vice-provost for international affairs at the University of Oregon; and professor of international affairs at Penn State University's School of International Affairs. He also has had extensive leadership experience in management consulting having served as General Manager of Andersen Consulting in Beijing (now Accenture) and the Founding President of Monitor Group China. Simon is the author of several books including *Corporate Strategies Towards the Pacific Rim; Techno-Security in an Age of Globalization;* and *China's Emerging Technological Edge: Assessing the Role of High-End Talent.* 

#### **Moderated By**



#### LIU Yawei

Senior Advisor on China, The Carter Center

Yawei Liu has been a member of numerous Carter Center missions to monitor Chinese village, township and county people's congress deputy elections from 1997 to 2011. He has also observed elections in Nicaragua, Peru and Taiwan. He has written extensively on China's political developments, grassroots democracy and U.S.-China relations.

Yawei is also the associate director of the China Research Center based in Metro Atlanta (since 2007). He was president of the United Society of China Studies(2010-2011). He is a senior fellow at the Chaha'er Institute, a think tank based in Beijing. He is visiting professor at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences at

Fudan University (since 2008) and a research fellow at the School of International Affairs and Public Administration at Shanghai Jiaotong University (since 2010). Yawei Liu is a professor of political science at East China Normal University and adjunct faculty member at the Department of Political Science at Emory University in Atlanta, GA.

Yawei has edited three Chinese book series: *Rural Election and Governance in Contemporary China* (Northwestern University Press, Xian, 2002 and 2004), the *Political Readers* (China Central Translation Bureau Press, 2006) and *Elections & Governance* (Northwestern University Press, 2008). He is the coauthor of *Obama: The Man Who Will Change America* (Chinese language, 2008). He is the founder and editor of China Elections and Governance (www.chinaelections.org, a website sponsored by The Carter Center on political and election issues of China. It was forced offline by the Chinese government in April 2012; it can still be accessed outside China.) He has also published numerous commentaries in *Global Times, Study Times* and *China Youth Daily*. Recently, Yawei was involved in launching a new magazine called US-China Perception Monitor, part of the new initiative on US-China relations by The Carter Center (www.uscnpm.org). He earned his B.A in English literature from Xian Foreign Languages Institute (1982), MA in recent Chinese history from the University of Hawaii (1989) and PhD in American History from Emory University (1996).

The Institute for China-America Studies is an independent nonprofit, nonpartisan research organization dedicated to strengthening the understanding of U.S.-China relations through expert analysis and practical policy solutions.

We ultimately aim to provide a window into the worldviews of both the United States and China, and thereby serve as a vehicle to promote mutual understanding and greater collaboration between these two countries and societies through sincere exchanges of fresh ideas, objective policy-oriented research, and fair assessments of this critical bilateral relationship.

